

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 03440 151854Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 DHA-02 ACDA-07 /084 W
-----151933Z 043714 /42

R 151600Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5119
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
USMISSION USUN
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USIA WASHDC

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MOSCOW 3440

USIA FOR IOP, IBS, IPS, IEU

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR PINT CSCE SHUM UR US
SUBJECT: SAKHAROV LETTER TO NEW YORK TIMES

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 03440 151854Z

1. CHRISTOPHER WREN OF NYT HAS PROVIDED EMBASSY WITH
COPY OF LETTER WRITTEN BY ANDREY SAKHAROV IN ANSWER TO
ONE PUBLISHED BY NYT FROM S. GUSEV OF THE USSR PROCURATOR'S
OFFICE. WE UNDERSTAND THE LETTER WAS FORWARDED TO THE NYT
MARCH 14 AND PRESUMABLY WILL BE PUBLISHED SHORTLY.

2. TRANSLATED TEXT OF LETTER FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT

CONCERNING THE ARTICLE BY USSR DEPUTY PROCURATOR GENERAL
S. GUSEV (NYT FEBRUARY 23, 1977)

IN HIS ARTICLE PUBLISHED BY THE NEW YORK TIMES, S. GUSEV
SETS FORTH THE OFFICIAL POSITION OF SOVIET REPRESSIVE
ORGANS TOWARD ME PERSONALLY, AND, INDIRECTLY, TOWARD
OTHER DISSIDENTS; IN THIS CONNECTION HE MAKES A SPECIAL
EFFORT TO EMPHASIZE THE INDEPENDENCE OF HIS POSITION
FROM ANY INTERVENTION BY "WESTERN DEFENDERS." GUSEV'S
ARTICLE WAS WRITTEN SHORTLY AFTER THE PUBLICATION OF THE
LETTER I SENT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
J. CARTER, AND IT IS CLEARLY A REACTION TO IT. I AM
CERTAIN THAT NO ONE IN THE WEST, INCLUDING PRESIDENT
CARTER, WILL PERMIT HIMSELF TO BE DIVERTED FROM THE
CONSCIOUSLY CHOSEN AND PRINCIPLED PATH OF ACTIVE DEFENSE
OF HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, WHICH HAS A DECISIVE
SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE FUTURE OF MANKIND. BUT GUSEV'S
ARTICLE IS CLEARLY AN ATTEMPT TO TEST THE FIRMNESS OF
THE WESTERN POSITION.

THE OSTENSIBLE REASON FOR MY SUMMONS TO THE
USSR PROCURATOR'S OFFICE WAS MY STATEMENT TO WORLD
OPINION CONCERNING THE EXPLOSION IN THE MOSCOW METRO
AND OTHER--AS YET UNSOLVED-CRIMES. GUSEV PROVIDES A
TENDENTIOUS INTERPRETATION OF MY STATEMENT AND COMPLETELY
OMITS MY ARGUMENTATION. AT THE SAME TIME, A FULL MONTH
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 03440 151854Z

AND A HALF AFTER THE EXPLOSION, HE DOES NOT SAY IN HIS
ARTICLE WHETHER THIS CRIME IS BEING INVESTIGATED. GUSEV
ALSO REMAINS SILENT ABOUT WHETHER INVESTIGATIONS ARE
BEING CONDUCTED INTO THE FIVE CASES OF MURDER ABOUT
WHICH I WROTE IN MY STATEMENT.

DURING MY CONVERSATION IN THE PROCURATOR'S
OFFICE, I STATED THAT IF A CAREFUL AND OBJECTIVE INVEST-
IGATION WERE TO BE MADE AS A RESULT OF MY STATEMENT,
AND IF INNOCENT PERSONS DID NOT SUFFER, I WOULD BE
COMPLETELY SATISFIED. I CAN ONLY REPEAT THESE WORDS
ONCE AGAIN. OF COURSE, I REALIZED THAT MY ACTION WOULD
RESULT IN HEAVY CONSEQUENCES FOR MYSELF AND THOSE CLOSE
TO ME, BUT I FELT THAT I HAD NO RIGHT TO REMAIN SILENT.

GUSEV CITES THE ARTICLE IN THE U.S. CRIMINAL
CODE UNDER WHICH I COULD BE ALLEGEDLY CHARGED IF I WERE
AN AMERICAN CITIZEN. THIS ARTICLE, HOWEVER, CONCERNS
ITSELF WITH ADVOCATING THE OVERTHROW OF THE GOVERNMENT

BY FORCE, WHICH I HAD NEVER DONE. GUSEV DOES NOT CITE ARTICLE 70 AND 190/1 OF THE RSFSR CRIMINAL CODE, UNDER WHICH MANY PEOPLE SUFFER AND PERISH IN PRISON FOR NON-VIOLENT ACTION, FOR THE DISSEMINATION OR MERE POSSESSION OF TRUTHFUL INFORMATION--OF BOOKS AND SAMIZDAT MATERIALS, FOR RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY, OR FOR A DESIRE TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

I AM PREPARED TO FACE THE COURT FOR MY OPEN PUBLIC ACTIVITY, EVEN THOUGH I CONSIDER THIS ACTIVITY TO BE LAWFUL AND NOT SUBJECT TO CHARGES UNDER THE CRIMINAL CODE; NOR DO I ENTERTAIN ANY ILLUSIONS CONCERNING THE IMPARTIALITY OF A SOVIET COURT.

BUT THE AUTHORITIES CHOOSE NOT TO RESORT TO THE OPEN COURT, BUT TO OTHER METHODS--COWARDLY AND DESPICABLE ONES. ALL MEANS ARE BEING EMPLOYED TODAY--COUNTLESS ANONYMOUS THREATS OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE, SLANDER LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 03440 151854Z

IN THE PRESS AND IN TASS REPORTS, AN ILLEGAL REJECTION OF AN APPLICATION FOR THE EXCHANGE OF LIVING SPACE, THE INITIATION OF CRIMINAL CHARGES AGAINST MY DAUGHTER, THE THREAT OF OTHER CHARGES AGAINST HER HUSBAND. THE EXCHANGE OF TWO TWO-ROOM APARTMENTS FOR ONE FOUR-ROOM APARTMENT OF EQUAL AREA IS NECESSARY FOR US BECAUSE IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR US TO LIVE SEPARATELY WHILE BEING SUBJECTED TO CONSTANT THREATS OF DEATH AGAINST SEVEN MEMBERS OF OUR FAMILY, INCLUDING TWO SMALL CHILDREN. AND PRECISELY FOR THIS REASON, THE AUTHORITIES DO NOT PERMIT THIS QUITE ORDINARY AND LAWFUL EXCHANGE TO TAKE PLACE. THE COMPLICITY OF THE KGB IN THIS AFFAIR IS SELF-EVIDENT, AS SHOWN BY THE TIMING OF AN ARTICLE, FILLED WITH FALSEHOODS, BY A TASS CORRESPONDENT; IT SUGGESTS THAT WE HAVE OVER 30 SQUARE METERS OF SPACE PER PERSON INSTEAD OF THE 9 SQUARE METERS WE ACTUALLY HAVE, AND THE WORD "EXCHANGE" WAS NOT MENTIONED AT ALL. IN FEBRUARY, IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING GUSEV'S "WARNING," MY DAUGHTER, TAT'YANA, FACED THE THREAT OF A CRIMINAL CHARGE INITIATED BY THE PROCURATOR'S OFFICE ON THE BASIS OF AN ANONYMOUS LETTER. AT THE SAME TIME, MY SON-IN-LAW, YEFREM YANKELEVICH, IS BEING THREATENED WITH A COURT PROSECUTION FOR DISSEMINATING "ANTI-SOVIET" MATERIALS AND FOR PARASITISM. AND SUCH REPRISALS ARE BEING VISITED ON MEMBERS OF MY FAMILY, IN SPITE OF GUSEV'S HYPOCRITICAL ASSERTIONS CONCERNING THE EQUALITY OF ALL CITIZENS BEFORE THE LAW, AS A BARBAROUS METHOD OF REVENGE AND PRESSURE ON MYSELF. BUT IN SPITE OF THIS FRIGHTFUL SITUATION, WHICH IS INFINITELY MORE TRAFIC THAN PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ONE'S OWN ACTIONS, I CONSIDER IT MY DUTY TO CONTINUE MY PUBLIC WORK. I DO NOT SEE ANY ALTERNATIVE. BUT

I HOPE THAT THOSE PERSONS IN THE WEST WHO HAVE TAKEN
UPON THEMSELVES THE BURDEN OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEFENDING
HUMAN RIGHTS, UNDERSTAND THE TRAFIC AND CULMINATING
NATURE OF THE POSITION WHICH IS SHARED BY ALL WHO DEFEND
HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR AND THE OTHER
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 05 MOSCOW 03440 151854Z

COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE, MYSELF INCLUDED. I ALSO
HOLD OUT HOPE FOR THE COMMON SENSE OF THE LEADERS OF THE
USSR AND THE OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, AND FOR THEIR
SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY AND THEIR DESIRE FOR A STABLE WORLD.

AT PRESENT, EACH DAY BRINGS NEW PROBLEMS. FOR
EXAMPLE, THE NEWSPAPER IZVESTIYA ON MARCH 4 PUBLISHED A
DESPICABLE AND PROVOCATIVE ARTICLE WHICH ACCUSED JEWS
SEEKING TO EMIGRATE OF ESPIONAGE. THIS IS A CONTEMPORARY
VERSION OF THE DREYFUS AFFAIR* I CALL ON WORLD PUBLIC
OPINION, ON THE HEADS OF STATE WHO SIGNED THE HELSINKI
AGREEMENT, TO PROTEST SUCH PROVOCATIONS.

I APPEAL TO THE WORLD TO COME OUT IN DEFENSE
OF THE ARRESTED MEMBERS OF THE HELSINKI MONITORING GROUP--
OF GINZBURG, ORLOV, RUDENKO, TIKHIY. I CALL FOR THE
DEFENSE OF PETR RUBAN AND ALL THE PRISONERS ABOUT WHOM
I WROTE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES--OF THE
YUGOSLAV WRITER MIKHJLOV, THE ARRESTED MEMBERS OF
"CHARTER77", AND THE OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE
COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE AND THE USSR.

THE LEITMOTIF OF MY PUBIC ACTIVITY REMAINS
MY DEMAND FOR A WORLD WIDE POLITICAL AMNESTY--FOR THE
FREEDOM OF ALL PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE. I CONSIDER
THIS TO BE A GUARANTEE OF PEACE.

5 MARCH 1977 ANDREY SAKHAROV, LAUREATEOF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE
END TEXT
TOON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PUBLIC CORRESPONDENCE, DISSIDENT FACTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 15-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977MOSCOW03440
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770089-0074
Format: TEL
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770359/aaaabzjw.tel
Line Count: 211
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 4d23f8b7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3104780
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SAKHAROV LETTER TO NEW YORK TIMES LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, SHUM, UR, US, CSCE, (SAKHAROV, ANDREY)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/4d23f8b7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009